2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

ECONOMICS

511 556 Poor as the Papago country was, its economics were those of abundance. Papago did not hoard property; they did not quarrel about land boundaries; they were constantly giving, as though from an inexhaustible supply. The answer is that the supply, meagre though it was from the modern point of view, was sufficient, for their simple needs and more.

431 Food was the principal gift and food will not keep in that hot country except in dehydrated form. Because of the migratory life, it must be left unguarded in storehouses and caches, subject to attack by animals or enemies. Better to dispose of any surplus while it was available and palatable and thus invest in good will! And anything but starvation rations was considered a surplus. The [262] standard meal was corn meal gruel: luxuries much beyond that were donated with lavish hand and never missed.

Giving became the regular Papago investment and the franker individuals say so. It never reached the extravagant proportions demanded in the Plains for all Papago life was in a gentler key. But one who gained the reputation of stinginess had damned his prospects in village and family life while the lavish giver not only achieved honor but had a continual income pouring in. For all gifts were returned, in equal quantity and more. The constant exchange [438] of goods in the form of gifts was the Papago equivalent for trade and merged only occasionally into trade in the stricter sense. Papago economics involves principally the study of groups which had gift relations.

The center of the system was the patriarchal family which, rather than the individual, must be taken as the unit both of property holding and of gift exchange. The family was a business concern, producing and disposing of goods under the direction of its male and female heads, and such production meant a full time occupation. This was not the sort of society where the men, when not hunting or [461 562] fighting, had the privilege of leisure: the men were day laborers like the women. All rose with the morning star, rested in the heat of noon and did not stop work until dark. It was slow motion labor, for the heat forbids haste. But it was unremitting. Industry was the prime virtue and no one could get a mate or keep one without it.

231 462 We have noted the division of labor between male and female: a division so sharp that it kept the two sexes in separate groups during

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

daylight hours. But there was also a division according to season and age. In summer, the older men did the farm work, with help from the young men and women at planting and harvest. The young men did some hunting, travelling, ditch building, house building and practiced for the races on which the old men bet. Women, in summer, gathered wild foods, the older women cooked and made baskets while the young ground corn and fetched wood and water. In winter the old men made rope, tools and weapons while the young men fought and hunted deer: the old women still cooked and the young ones were, as always, the wood and water carriers.

The distinction between young and old approached that in a modern society between laboring and employing classes. Heavy labor, everywhere, was done by the young, under the direction of the old. Young men had no voice in council or even in the planning of a war raid, an occasion when, in some Indian societies, they were so prominent. Young women did not manage their households. Youth was considered unfit for thinking and planning and, both in the household and the village, the commanding positions belonged to the old.

It was also the old who practiced the special crafts whose returns went beyond the scope of gifts and became commercial goods. The constant labor required of youth left little time for the long process of learning pottery, netting, mat plaiting, skin dressing and weaving by the Papago process of imitation and repetition. Men and women did not "sit down" to these crafts until middle age. Coiled basketry was the one exception to the rule, for baskets were a necessity and every girl had to learn enough about them to make one during her puberty seclusion. But the other specialties often were not begun until there were grown sons and daughters-in-law in the home to carry on the day's work.

Among the mens' specialties, deer hunting was the most common and was the only one practiced by young men. It meant a long apprenticeship beginning in boyhood and involving the learning of magic and the clever use of the deerhead disguise. One man in a family was sometimes the hunter while the others attended to the land. The other arts were tool making, weaving and skin dressing. The last two are handed over to women in tribes where all the men are busy with war and hunting. But young Papago women had a full time occupation as mere carriers and neither war nor hunting was a major occupation. The women's arts were the plaiting of sleeping mats and of ceremonial baskets, the netting and dying of the intricately made carrying net, the weaving of bands on the belt loom and the making of pottery.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

oak country to gather acorns. In August another variety of wild greens was ready to eat, and, finally, in September the prickly pear ripened. 222

Without domesticated animals, the Desert People depended on wild life for their meat, which they dried and stored or ate fresh. All through the year the hunters went out after bighorn sheep, deer, peccary, and rabbits. 224

This was a way of life in which everyone had to work in order to eat. Someone had to sow the seed or protect the crops while others were gathering wild plants, and, while some of the family were gathering acorns or saguaro fruit, others might be off hunting. And always there was the work at preparing food for eating or storage, making clothes and utensils, and the general business of keeping a family going; small wonder that industry was thought of as a cardinal virtue, for the lazy man would starve and bring others to the verge of starvation. Nor is it surprising that families were strongly cohesive, that they included people other than father, mother, and children, or that babies were welcomed. The more hands, the more co-operative work, the more food. We shall see later that these values remain powerful factors in Papago society today. 461 ●

FIRST WHITE INFLUENCES ON PAPAGO TECHNOLOGY

When Father Kino came up from Mexico in 1700, he brought cattle and horses, oxen and wooden plows, wheat, peas, lentils, and *garbanzos*. These the Papago accepted according to their own pattern. It is possible that they simply turned the cattle loose and hunted them much as they had always hunted deer.[1] At any rate, for years there were semiwild cattle in the southern and eastern parts of what is now the Papago Reservation. The wheat and legumes fitted more naturally into the Papago pattern. They were planted in winter in the same fields used in summer for corn, so that there were now two growing seasons instead of one, which somewhat regularized the food supply. 177

Horses were very useful, easing the difficulty of the semiannual treks from mountain to valley and return and shortening the traveling time between villages. However, like many other tribes, the Papago attached to the horse a value quite out of proportion to its usefulness, and ownership of horses became a source of prestige. Horses and cattle were individually owned, in contrast to land, to which an individual had a right only while he was using it. 231 422

1. Ruth Underhill, "Acculturation in the Papago Village of Santa Rosa," p. 12. In contrast, a group of Indians in northern Mexico closely related to the Papago, who were completely "mission-bred," used white methods of handling stock; yet they violently resisted white encroachments, even to the point of bloody revolt.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

Chapter V

VILLAGES AND DIALECT GROUPS

621 VILLAGE and dialect group have a deeper and more personal meaning to a Papago than membership in the tribe. The village is his home, the place where he grows up and where his relatives are. In the old days, when the people migrated at least twice a year between the fields in the valleys and the wells in the hills, and new fields were frequently sought, the village was not so much a place as a particular group of people; but, now that communities are more stabilized, the *place* has also become important. Children in schools only a few miles away grow desperately homesick, and adults look forward to seeing the sun rise or set in the familiar notches of the mountains. People do move to other villages or leave the Reservation entirely, but they always want to come home.

THE VILLAGE

621 361 If you drive along the highway to where you are told there is a Papago village, you are likely to see only three or four houses, though you may know that two hundred and fifty people live in this community. But when you leave the main road and investigate the wagon trails, house after house appears, and you discover that a village of fifty households may cover as much as two square miles. Though some houses cluster around the school or the church, there seems to be no nucleus for the village as a whole. There are no streets or other spatial regularities, nor is there a general pattern for the location of homes and fields; some families live in the midst of their fields, and others live at some distance from them. Closely related families may live fairly near to each other, but most households see the tops of their neighbor's houses over a hundred yards of creosote and cholla bushes. Thus Papago have privacy without fences; they like this separateness and think nothing of the distances to be walked.

461 Like the houses, the events of village life are few and far between. Quiet day follows quiet day. The people work continuously but calmly, their labors

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

punctuated by an occasional fiesta,[1] a roundup, a death, or some other important occurence. Life is slow and measured, without the rush of events and the crowded calendar of people who live close together as do the Pueblo Indians. 461

WORKING TOGETHER

Although Reservation lands belong to the tribe as a whole, the land in and around each village is thought of as belonging to that community and is apportioned by the village or district council. If a man wishes to put in a new field, he must seek the consent of the village. Conversely, if a field has not been used for five years, the village can request the "owner" to take down his fences, or the request may come to the council from another man who wishes to use the field. The field or home site which remains in use is "owned" by the user, but, if he wishes to change either, he must obtain permission. Grazing areas also are thought of as belonging to the people of the village or the district, but an individual who has developed water resources virtually has first rights to the surrounding range and can shut off other people's cattle from the water. This general picture is complicated by the fact that certain areas were scheduled for allotment to individuals thirty years ago. Though the allotments were never approved, people know what land had been scheduled for them, and others hesitate to ask for its use. 621 423

Every village is organized for co-operative undertakings. For the care of their livestock, the men elect a foreman who has proved that he knows horses and cattle. This man, probably chosen from a prominent family in the village, serves, as long as he performs his tasks to the general satisfaction of the community, without remuneration. During the big cattle roundup in October and the horse roundup in early summer (which may include a small-scale cattle roundup), the foreman "works for the people"; i.e., he has charge of all the proceedings—the day and place to start, the methods to be used, and all the activities to be carried on by the village men and boys. He is responsible for seeing that the proper brands are applied to calves and colts, a process that is carefully scrutinized by the cowboys. The foreman also decides what other co-operative work should be done to protect and improve the villagers' livestock; and when he thinks a corral should be built or a *charco* improved, he summons the men to come and help. 621 476 231

Another type of co-operative work is keeping the washes clear of brush and sandbanks, so that they will not turn out of their courses or deepen their channels, leaving established fields useless. All the men whose fields are 621 476 241

1. The fiesta, the chief religious and social event of village life, is described in the following chapter.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

466 mine officials have gone to some trouble to provide satisfactory living conditions for Papago employees and their families. For them they have built neat small houses with sanitary facilities. Since they are fair with their employees, they expect good steady work in return. In an effort to combat absenteeism (particularly from drunkenness), mine officials encouraged the organization of Ajo Papago with a council and a "chief," after the fashion of their home villages. A representative was to attend, but not to vote in, the tribal council meetings. This is a particularly interesting development, since families from all parts of the Reservation now live in Ajo, and it may contribute to the growth of tribal unity.

[461] Working on a definite schedule in the white fashion is not a normal life for the Papago, but he seems to be able to adjust, perhaps because he likes the wages, which give him a higher cash income than most people can earn on the Reservation. The wages may compensate for the poor living conditions that in some cities go with jobs for Papago.

641 The general public looks upon these Indians as a lower-class group with a tendency toward drunkenness, and, though they are not subjected to as marked social discrimination as are Negroes,[11] they must endure a certain amount of racial prejudice.

Political discrimination is more apparent. Papago must pay the state automobile tax and income tax and, when they are off the Reservation, the state sales taxes as well. But they do not have the right to vote.[12]

641 186 Since 1924 all Indians born in the United States have been citizens. As such, the Papago are subject to all federal laws and regulations. A few men pay federal income tax, but Selective Service and rationing affected all. The Papago submitted to these wartime necessities with better grace than many groups; despite the difficulties of language and transportation, surprisingly large numbers turned out to register for the draft and for rationing. Rationing was of course difficult for the Papago at first, but after they understood it there were few complaints, and they seldom forgot to bring ration books to the stores. Papago adapted themselves to wartime conditions with the ease and lack of strain which has characterized them throughout their history. One leader in the western districts instructed young men not to register for the draft, but, when he was sentenced to prison for attacking a federal officer, resistance died down. At the time of this study about 1,700 Papago were regis-

11. It is interesting to note that the Papago in turn have borrowed the prevailing white concepts about Negroes. They regard "The Black Ones" as social inferiors, comic characters who are fit subjects for clowns to imitate.

12. On July 15, 1948, the Arizona Supreme Court handed down a decision that Indians in the state would henceforth be entitled to vote.

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
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mediately covered the seeds by scraping dirt over the hole with his foot. The surface was left flush with the ground, the soil not pressed down. Informants stated that, using the digging stick, a man could plant about a half acre of corn or teparies per day.

There was no device for making certain the hills would be in straight rows, as one learned by experience how to gauge this with the eye. When tree stumps were encountered no special effort was made to keep rows straight and the hills were staggered around them. All crops were planted with the hills in adjacent rows alternating, and in no case was the soil between the hills worked at planting time. Since no attempt was made to locate hills in the same spots year after year, this was conducive to maintaining soil fertility.

Maize was planted four to six inches deep; teparies, kidney beans, lima beans, pumpkins, gourds, black-eyed beans, chick peas, watermelons, muskmelons and cotton about three inches, since, unlike corn and pumpkins, they could not push up from a greater depth of soil; lentils were planted about one to one and one-half inches and chili merely pressed into the soil, while tobacco was blown from the hand and the surface soil then scratched with a branch. Two informants said for watermelons, pumpkins and muskmelons holes were made about six inches deep, the seed covered shallowly, leaving a depression, and the hole gradually filled in as the plants grew.

Hills and rows for the last three were located six to eight feet apart; teparies, kidney beans, black-eyed beans, chick peas and cotton, one and one-half to two feet; lima beans about three feet, and lentils about twelve inches. Maize rows were thirty inches apart; teparies, kidney beans, black-eyed beans and cotton about two feet.

The Piman ritual number was four, and, theoretically, four seeds of any crop were to be planted to each hill; practically, this has long been ignored. Maize, teparies, kidney beans, black-eyed beans, lima beans, chick peas, cotton,

he belonged, but was not forbidden to marry within it. In the same way the whole country was divided into ceremonial halves or moieties known as Buzzard and Coyote. This custom is similar to that of the Mission Indians, distant language relatives of the Papagos. But whereas the moieties of the Mission Indians forbade marriage of one moiety member with another and have given to the moiety many ceremonial duties, the Papagos know Buzzard and Coyote as names only and there are no rules or ceremonies connected with them.

Many of the old Papago ceremonies dealing with birth and death are no longer practiced but there are enough old people living so that we can at least have an account of them. A mother, about to give birth to a child, went to a separate hut kept for "dangerous women." Not only women in childbirth but women in their periods came under this heading, for the strange power of reproduction seemed to the Papagos fraught with magic and death. The new mother remained in this segregation hut for a month before she and her baby might emerge. Then the medicine man gave them both a mixture of clay to drink while he pronounced a purification formula.

Young children were continually urged to be industrious for this was the supreme Papago virtue. Boys were expected to have a dream which would tell them what career to choose and give them power to follow it. Girls usually did not dream but when they reached maturity a special ceremony was held for them. The girls were kept apart from others for four days, then bathed and brought out to dance with the whole village. Sometimes this dance continued every night for a month, and at the end of that time the strange new power which had visited the girl was thought to be tamed. Her parents soon visited the parents of an industrious youth and arranged that the two should be mated. There was no marriage ceremony other than the coming of the boy to the girl's house and taking her home with him after four days. They lived with the

support this inference. Seventeen crew leaders were interviewed. Only one reported using Indians less frequently than formerly. All the rest have either observed no trend, are using Indians the same or are using them more. Five of the 17 reporting said they are using them more.

There are, of course, certain obvious factors inherent in this kind of work pattern which are compatible to general Indian and Papago Indian participation. The worker can enter and withdraw at will without obligating himself to become integrated into Anglo society. The family and village pattern can remain intact. Income tax and social security, in fact, the whole Anglo pay check complex is in most cases avoided. Language barriers are made insignificant, and the standardized relationships within the extended family are most usefully employed to get work through word of mouth communications. The upshot is that this kind of work, though not as rewarding financially as other kinds of work, is least disruptive of folk patterns.

Conversely, the advantages of Indians to crew leaders are quite simply that, relative to other domestic seasonal workers, they are dependable, available, and exploitable.

Direct Temporary Farm Jobs. The high utilization (67%) of Papagos as temporary farm workers (as opposed to seasonal) is of significance in two directions. It indicates, first of all, that Papagos are willing to take this kind of work and that farm managers seeking temporary employees depend upon the Papago labor pool. More significant for the Papagos is the opportunity they thus gain for training in all types of farm work, including the operation of farm machinery. Potential benefits, in fact, carry beyond the limits of farm work since the nature of the employment (as contrasted with seasonal work under a crew leader) involves direct and intimate experience with an Anglo employer and all the complexities of wage work employment. The Papagos are obviously well started in

WHEN? . . . A Hundred Days

000 To city people in southern Arizona "The Hundred Days" are the first hundred or so in the year when the main industry of the area is in high gear . Then tourists from colder parts of the country flood into the cities to pump enough dollars into the commercial system to last the rest of the year.

●461 221 The hundred days of the cotton farmer come earlier, after the first of September. And they are really more than a hundred, extending usually into mid-January. But the cotton picking season is just about one hundred working days long--22 picking days to the month (5½ work days to the week).

Summer heat continues into October, and the picking that began about the first week of September with the opening of the first bolls is hot, sweaty work. More and more bolls open until the first killing frost which usually comes in mid-November turning the plants brown. Then leaves fall off and the last bolls open quickly. After that harvesting is a race against time to pick the lint before rain and sun deteriorate it.

464 221 [361] The Desert People begin their annual migration to the cotton fields months earlier to work at cleaning ditches and weeding and thinning the growing cotton. The harvest hands start moving into labor camps in August, and more continue to move in until the peak of the season in November finds perhaps 4,500 Papagos living in Pima and Pinal county camps.

221 The Desert People are old hands at seasonal migrations. For untold centuries they moved back and forth between their fields in the valleys and springs in the mountains where they went after the harvest and the drying up of valley water holes. The present migration out to the labor camps comes a little earlier than harvest time, and interferes with growing crops on the reserves.

221 602 185 182 "Despite the practical difficulties involved, the findings suggest that the development of this physical, social and

[Text continues on p. 22]

[Arizona Labor Camps]

means little because of tremendous variation in physical form of southern Arizona labor camps, which has been discussed previously.

AGE

A few of these temporarily inhabited rural villages run by cotton farmers on their farms have been used a long time--up to 40 years. But most of them are quite new since the great gamble on expanded cotton production is of very recent date; mainly during and after World War II. Most labor camps in Pima and Pinal counties have had little time to deteriorate.

Because construction differs so greatly, figures on age of camps have comparatively little meaning in terms of camp quality. The average in 1950 seemed to be about 5 years--6 years in Pima county where some camps in use a long time lengthened the average, and 4 years in Pinal county where the main expansion in acreage has occurred in years immediately past.[1]

LEISURE TIME

For 6 days of the week, the pickers are in the fields with the sun. On 5 days they quit work from about 3 p.m. to sun down, and are ready for sleep soon after eating an evening meal, although there is time for a little drinking or gambling for the men. On Saturday the evening is free after an afternoon shopping trip, and Sunday is a day of rest.

Cotton farmers show almost no realization that their hands have any leisure time by providing recreational facilities. The only form of recreation provided in any of the camps studied by the writer was a base-ball field. These were generally simply cleared spots where ball could be played, and employees furnished their own equipment. Only about a seventh of the camps seem to have had even this elemental form of recreation.[2] Of necessity, much

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from only 8 farmers in both counties. Their investment averaged $4,487.50 per farm, but since one farmer of the group had two camps, investment per camp averaged only $3,988.89.

[1] Based on information on 28 camps averaging 5.3 years old. Pima county: 17 camps studied averaged 6.3 years old. Pinal county: 11 camps studied averaged 3.8 years old.

[2] 8 of 21 labor camps on which data was obtained.

IN THE FIELDS ...

000 Throughout the long period it has been grown as a domesticated crop, cotton has been harvested by hand. Human beings have picked the white fibers out of bursting bolls handful by handful. This is the last major agricultural process to be mechanized in the U. S. The mechanical gin made possible large-scale cotton production in modern times, and created conditions of human slavery in the United States to answer the demand for more cotton production. Tractors have replaced horses in front of plows. Although cotton "chopping" has been mainly a hand job, cultivators have replaced slaves with hoes to a great extent, and now chemical weed killers, sprayers and boll-weevil destroyers bid fair to mechanize cotton cultivation completely. Harvesting is still the bottleneck in cotton production.

Mechanical cotton pickers or strippers have only been able to compete economically with hand picking since World War II. And few picking machines are yet available in the cotton fields. It is still the "hand" who harvests the white fibers.

● 461 Picking cotton is hard work. Ditches are uneven underfoot between rows of plants catching at hands and clothes. Pickers' hands must fly to pull the white fiber from the bolls fast enough to make any weight and money. As they add cotton to their sacks, pickers add to the weight they must drag along the ground by a strap over the shoulder or around the waist.

ETHNIC GROUP HIRING

000 Arizona's harvest hands have many and varied origins. Farmers have different opinions of the relative worth of laboring groups. More hire Spanish-speaking pickers than any other group. In Pima county over four-fifths of the farmers hired Spanish-speaking pickers in 1950.[1] Almost as many proportionately hired them in Pinal county--over three-fourths of the farmers apparently.[2] Next most frequently hired group in 1950 was the Anglo--meaning any non-Spanish-speaking, non-Negro, non-Indian picker. Approximately three-fourths of the farmers hired Anglos in Pinal county as did a substantial majority of Pima farmers.[3]

[1] 28 of 34 or 82% hired them.
[2] 52 of 68 or 76½% hired them.
[3] 53 of 68 or 79% in Pinal and 19 or 34 or 56% in Pima county hired them.

000 After the Desert People, the Indians most commonly employed on farms in Pima and Pinal counties were Yaquis. Of 65 non-Papago Indian cotton pickers enumerated in this study, 42 were Yaquis (and the number actually employed was of course much larger. Other tribes represented in the 1949 cotton harvest force were Choctaw (9 counted in this study), Cherokee (5), Pueblo (5), Pima (3--however many hundreds of Pimas work in the Salt River valley), and Sauk (1). In Pima county about a fifth of the cotton [464] farmers employ Yaquis,[1] some hiring both Papagos and Yaquis.

PAPAGOS

464 The approximately 2,000 Desert Peoples harvesting cotton in 1950 were good pickers. Employers are generally agreed Indians pick the cleanest cotton, which means money in the grower's pocket. (Lint grades better if it is not stained by leaves and dirt; and the gins penalize for too much trash) Employers are also generally of the ● 461 opinion that Indians are slower than other pickers, with 464 Yaquis picking faster than Papagos. Usually they feel slower speed about offsets cleaner picking. Actually, it is doubtful whether Indians are any slower. Papago 433 men seem to average over 200 pounds of upland cotton per 461 day.[2] This is probably quite near the average of all pickers. The average amount picked by one man day's labor in Pinal county in a 1948 study was 188 pounds.[3] Papagos interviewed by the writer varied in picking speed from 128 pounds per day to 366. Indian pickers seem to set themselves a steady pace which can be maintained through the day. Other pickers tend to pick fast early in the day, bringing in heavy sacks on their first weigh-in, but slowing up during the day as they become fatigued. This writer feels employers usually remember the first weight of the day, so conclude Indians are slower pickers--seldom do employers keep track of pickers' daily totals.

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[1] 8 of 26 Pima county farms hiring Indians hired Yaquis; these 8 were 23% of those studied (70% of total cotton acreage in the county).

[2] Based on data from 8 men who knew their picking speed, ranging from boys to middle age, 6 working in Pinal and 2 in Pima county. They averaged 211 pounds per day each.

[3] Ballantyne, 1950.

465 The standard rate for picking upland cotton in southern Arizona during the 1950 season was $3.00 per 100 pounds. So the average daily wage for Papago men was approximately $5.00, with a range from about $3.85 up to $9.00.

462 465 Papago women apparently are slower pickers than their husbands. They seem to average about 150 pounds a day of upland cotton.[1] This would give them a daily wage of $4.50. For the 5½-day work week Papago men averaged about $33 and their wives about $25. However, since women generally take time off from picking to wash clothes, do some cooking, clean up the cabin, etc., it is likely that many of them earn no more than $12 to $15 per week. There were 17 weeks between September 1, 1950, and the end of the year. The hypothetical average Papago man could have earned some $560 picking cotton over this period. His wife could have added about $200 to $425 depending on how many days in the week she worked. In families with husband and wife picking, income for the season could run $750 to $1,000. It is extremely doubtful if any Papago family actually earned so much.

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461 273 [434] One reason income of the Desert People in the fields is lower than the theoretically possible figure is that they do not seem to put in a full work week. Their work week is nearer 4½ than 5½ days,[2] lumping men and women together. This simply indicates men put in a full 5½ day week, but women only work about half the days in the week. An important factor in time lost from work by the Desert People is liquor. Cotton farmers are almost unanimous in their condemnation of Indian drinking. The usual opinion is Papagos start drinking Friday night, and are unable to work Monday, wobbly Tuesday, at full steam Wednesday. Of course, this picture in farmers' minds has been painted by exceptional individual Papagos and doesn't represent accurately the situation for all Papagos. But it does reflect the great amount of time lost by many Papago individuals because of their drinking habits.

461 796 Another cause of lost working time for Papago harvesters is the religious celebration. Most important is the fiesta of St. Francis in October. Many farmers throw up their hands then, and gripe loudly about families that

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 71]

[1] Only 3 women told the author how much they picked, and 1 worked a short day. They averaged 130 pounds per day.

[2] 8 Papagos in both counties who didn't lose time from drunkenness worked 37 days in the week preceeding their interview, an average of 4.6.

461 leave for two or three weeks or a month. However, the
796 usual pilgrim to Magdalena, or Chuwhiy Cuwuk at this time loses only one work-week, and those going to San Xavier less. Secondary fiestas in point of time lost from work are the fiesta of St. Francis in December at San Xavier and All Souls at the beginning of November.

461 The graph of migration to the fields shows that some
434 families start picking as late as November. If they come
221 in the middle of the month and work until the first of the year at average speed, the man and wife can earn about $280. More than likely they will go to San Xavier December 2, take time off at Christmas, and work only 5 weeks, earning perhaps $230 for their abbreviated season.

Families coming to work during October make more, of course. Those starting to pick in September approach the maximum possible for harvesters to earn. Assuming the worst possible about a family, that the husband loses 2 days each week from hangovers, making only $21 a week, and that the family leaves for Magdalena the first of October and goes home to the reservation until after All Souls, and then spends a week away from work at San Xavier's Saint's Day in December, having come to work the second week in September to begin with, husband and wife should each make about $200, a total of some $400 for the worst conceivable family.

A family which starts work about mid-September, loses the first week of October at fiesta, and spends a week at home sometime during picking season is apparently an average family. It would receive approximately $335 during the season.

461 The picture for American-Egyptian cotton is somewhat
433 different from upland. The bolls are smaller and sharper, and the lint harder to pick out. Papago men and women seem to pick this type cotton at about the same speed. Both sexes average around 100 pounds per day.[1]

434 At the rate in 1950 of $5.00 per hundred pounds, a
461 husband would make $27.50 for a 5½ day week. If his wife
[221] picked 3½ days, the team would earn $45, and if she picked every day, they would receive $55 for their week's work. The "average" family picking American-Egyptian cotton from

[1] Admittedly this figure is based on a very small sample, only 2 men and 2 women.

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mid September and losing 2 weeks for trips would earn about $585 during the season. Although this is $50 or so under the amount the same family might make picking upland cotton, the Desert People are willing to pick American-Egyptian varieties. This is a point in their favor with cotton farmers, who have a difficult time hiring enough pickers to harvest long staple plantings. It is 1 reason growers favor Indian cotton pickers--they pick whatever cotton is in front of them, American-Egyptian or upland, scattered or thick, without grumbling. They don't sneak clods or rocks into their sacks to make weight, but on the contrary pick clean, high grading fiber. These are most attractive traits to farmers harrassed by more articulate hands willing to trim profit-fat farmers by sharp practice if possible.

PAYMENT

465 Information gathered in this study indicates there is no differences in cotton pickers' payment for any reason other than growers bidding for labor. Over most of the picking season, pickers of every size, age, and description receive a standard price for their cotton, agreed on beforehand by growers. In 1950 this standard piece-work rate was $3.00 per 100 pounds of upland cotton and $5.00 or $6.00 per 100 of American-Egyptian. Toward the end of the season there was some variation as growers bid for the shrinking supply of labor willing to clean up picked-over fields. Some paid $7 per 100 for long-staple picking. Some paid $2.25 and some $2.50 for "snapping" upland--breaking bolls off entire from the stems. Others paid $3.00 for picking what could be picked and snapping the rest.

There is no such uniformity in method of payment. A majority of growers pay off their hands in cash every time the picker weighs a sack of cotton, or every evening for the weight picked that day.[1] The practice of keeping a cash box in the field to pay pickers as they weigh in is commoner in Pima than in Pinal county. Almost two-thirds

[1] 44 growers of 85 who gave information paid in cash: 52%. The 85 planted 28,630 acres of cotton, averaging 336.8 acres, 8.3 larger than the average of all farms studied, so they may be taken as quite representative.

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466 While drinking water supplies in most of the region's labor camps were reasonably satisfactory and sanitary--if not very convenient--the story in the harvest fields had a different plot. Workers in the cotton harvest need a high water intake because the work is hard and hot. During the early part of the season, the blazing Arizona sun makes it even hotter, raising the water requirement. But in the fields is just where water is least available.

Cotton farmers or their contractors or foremen haul water to the fields for pickers to drink. But sometimes they fail to keep up with demand, and hands gripe and swear because they must work dry--and in danger from heat prostration. Fortunately for workers, these failures are comparatively rare.

Sanitary considerations are more or less forgotten in providing water for the hands in the fields. Some contractors provide barrels with spigots, but most in 1950 had acquired their containers hit or miss, and laborers got a drink by dipping from an open container. Even spigoted barrels usually sported only one drinking cup. Lack of individual drinking cups in the intense heat made ideal conditions for transmission of every contact-communicable disease.

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466 Most harvest hands either ate prepared lunches in
●461 the fields about 10 or 11 a.m. (having started work at 7 or earlier), or walked back to the labor camp for a quick snack. However, many contractors profited off their crews by operating small stores at the scales where pickers could purchase soft drinks, pastries and other prepared foods, and tobacco products. A few performed a real service for their crews--at a price--by operating mobile lunch stands serving hot coffee and sandwiches and even hamburgers. Lunch fare of pickers observed in this study was far from ideal for hard workers.

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

WHY the Desert People work

The Desert People pick cotton because they need the money they are paid for their labor. Cotton harvesting is hard work and dirty, but as one young Papago who picks 300 pounds a day told the author, "$9 a day is a lot of money to me!" Picking cotton is the most practical way for unskilled Papagos to earn any large sum, and Papago cotton pickers superficially come very close to the concept of the economic man governed only by "laws" of economics. But there are deep-lying cultural reasons for this attitude and need among the Desert People.

CHANGE IN VIEWPOINT

Originally the Papago people lived in a manner quite different than they do today. After unknown centuries in their harsh semi-desert environment, they had worked out a marvelous adjustment to unfriendly nature and a military balance with surrounding Indians. But the Desert People have had some contacts with Europeans for 250 years. During those two and a half centuries, more and more Papago behaviors have changed to approximate European behaviors. Forms, if not meanings, of Papago action are frequently much like our own. Of course, habits and thoughts most central to Papago culture remain Indian in character. The most complete and striking changes have probably occurred in the economic spheres of life.

Once material goods apparently changed hands among the Desert People through a system of gift exchange. A successful hunter divided his kill among families in his village. Later the wife of a good farmer divided some of her tasty dishes so the hunter received an amount roughly equivalent to his meat. Each family was an economic unit if necessary, and no kindred looked beyond its members for aid.

When Spanish missionaries reached the Desert People they set out to change the Indians spiritually and economically. They introduced new crops and domestic animals to the Papagos along with a new religion. Missionaries introduced the Desert People to a work-exchange system, in which Indians were paid in kind for harvesting and other work (and even for attending mass at first)

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[465]
[439]

at the missions. Familiarity with the work-exchange idea prepared Papagos for the system of barter prevalent in the rural areas on the frontiers of New Spain. At least by the time New Spain won its independence and called itself Mexico the Desert People had begun to work and trade for money. But their homeland economy was still on a barter basis, and did not go onto a cash basis until after many years of control by Anglo-Americans.

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Anglos established the first stores the Desert People had seen, and brought a much wider selection of foods and goods to be purchased with cash. Anglos were in the habit of paying for labor in cash rather than kind. As the Indians began to want the new foods and goods their own economy collapsed. Always the Desert People had survived on a very narrow margin in their resource-poor environment. But they always got by. Now as they acquired tastes for new foods and desires for new goods, their resources could not supply the surplus needed to purchase them. The Papagos had to convert their only unexploited resource--their own labor--into the cash they needed to buy new necessities. Their economy changed from a food-gathering-agricultural-hunting-work exchange subsistence economy to a wage labor-agricultural cash economy.

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The role Papago women have played in these changes cannot be overemphasized. They found it far easier to prepare and cook foods from trading posts than to gather the desert foods, prepare and cook them. Half the food eaten on the reserves now is purchased.[1] Many articles of Anglo technology--irons, sewing machines, flour, etc. --made women's work easier, and Papago women adopted them. This has meant Papago men and frequently women too had to work for cash to pay for purchased foods and sewing machines and cloth and durable goods.

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This need for cash is recognized by the realistic Desert People and moves them to hire out for wage labor. They have wants which they feel strongly. They realize their wants can be satisfied only with cash, and they have found cash can be acquired in most cases only by marketing their labor, since it is the major Papago resource. Their other resources simply cannot produce the cash necessary to satisfy their wants.

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[1] Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 37.

19: Dobyns E-5 (1950) 1951 NU28 Papago NU28

ECONOMIC NECESSITY

433 Basic reasons Papagos Work—

In a rural area, there are not many choices of livelihood—farming, mining, lumbering, raising cattle. [463] [657] The Papago reservations have no timber worth cutting other than mesquite trees for firewood. [313] The Papago reservations are the only lands in the U. S. reserved for Indians which are open to mineral entry by outsiders. [316] Consequently mining claims are held by non-Papagos, and profits go elsewhere. [464] The only way the Desert People can benefit from mines is by selling their labor to the owners.

241 Farming is risky for the Desert People. Only two 311 communities have irrigated lands which can be depended 433 upon for crops. The rest must resort to age-old techniques of flood farming where arroyos spread flood waters from mountains. Spots that can be farmed this way are not abundant. They are being decreased each summer as gullies wash out fields and arroyos cover them with sterile sand and gravel washed down from overgrazed and eroding slopes above. Flood farming was never more than a subsistence measure because of the size limitation on fields, and frequent crop failures from flooding out, frost, or drought. Today, there is little incentive to gamble on a subsistence farm for any Papago able to speak enough English to get a job. For [464] wage labor means a super-subsistence income, even if a [511] substandard one by Anglo lights.

241 Probably every worker on the Papago reservations 433 has noticed the steady abandonment of flood farms. A- 464 mong Papago cotton pickers with these farms, less than 221 half apparently bother to plant any crops at all nowadays.[1] Cotton picking starts just about the time fields need weeding on the reserves, and picking season hits its peak just about the time flood field crops are ready to harvest. This conflict between flood-farm growing season and wage-labor season in the cotton fields results in many Papago laborers not planting crops at all on the reserves.

433 Another factor discouraging flood farm planting is 241 that these small plots produce only subsistence crops 461 at best, even if the gamble against drought and over-

[1] 5 families of 11 giving information had any crops at all in 1950.

433 flooding and grasshoppers is won. This subsistence
24 scale, risky enterprise cannot long compete against
[46] the surplus-over-subsistence earned in the cotton
fields.

The crops Desert People working in the 1950 cotton harvest did plant on the reserves were not even on a subsistence scale. The few beans or squash, the patch of melons they actually planted were no more than a supplement at most.

464 Clearly an important reason Papagos sell their la-
471 bor is that a high proportion do not even have flood
423 farms where they could try to farm if they wished to. Probably nearly half the Desert People picking cotton in 1950 had no fields.[1]

233 For Papagos who cannot farm, there is still a
433 possibility of raising cattle. However, xerophytic
[39] desert vegetation is not particularly well suited to
[39] fattening cattle--thorns don't make fat. Rainfall on reserve lands is very scanty, and good stands of grass are small and undependable.

231 Among Papago cotton pickers of 1950, nearly half
422 the families owned cattle.[2] However, some of them actually had only 1 cow, and the average number of head owned by each family was only a dozen.[3]

One difficulty for Papago cattlemen is that horses are kept by most families, taking up range that could support more beef animals. These horses are not especially good stock--no one raises horses for export.
[492] But the Desert People are still mainly in the pre-
[493] automotive age of transportation. If they don't walk, they generally must ride horseback or in a wagon pulled by horses. Over three-fourths of Papago cotton pickers in 1950 owned horses.[4] And each of these families kept
[87] 6 or 7 horses.[5] If it were not for an ordinance of the
[46] Papago Tribal Council restricting each family to not more than 10 head of horses, horse population of the reserved lands would undoubtedly be much higher.

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130 families gave information. 80 had their own fields, or 61%. (Only 2 were in irrigated projects, 5%) Fathers of 8 younger men had flood fields, 8%. So 41% had no flood fields in their extended family.
[2] 19 families of 40 questions owned cattle, 47½%.
[3] 80 families giving information owned 96 head, averaging 12 per family.
[4] 31 families of 40 questioned owned horses, 77½%.
[5] 31 families giving data owned 180, averaging 6.8 each.

As it is, the horses kept by each family seem to run just slightly under the number allowed on permits assigned by the Council. Among families picking cotton, the average permit was for 7 horses.[1]

Papago harvest hands can go off and leave unplanted fields without worrying. But the laborer with cattle or horses has a problem. Three-fourths of the pickers with animals in 1950 left them in the care of some relative--a brother, son, father, or uncle.[2] This fact is apparently one main reason for members of the Papago extended family remaining on the reserves while others go off to pick cotton. Along with the pattern of leaving children with their grandparents so they can continue uninterrupted in Indian Bureau schools, it illustrates the continuing economic function of the Papago extended family. Although the biological family is the main unit working for wages, in the wider economic picture it is the extended family which is the functioning unit.

The laborers who do not leave their animals in someone's care simply let them run loose on the reserve or occasionally a family will be able to bring its horses to a labor camp.

On the reserved lands themselves, the labor market is relatively restricted. Employers are limited to the U. S. Indian Bureau (hiring over 100 Desert People)[3] the Papago Tribe (hiring half a dozen Papagos full time) the state and county highway departments, trading posts, and mines. These jobs generally require some degree of skill and training, and are filled by those of the Desert People who have had more educational opportunities. A high proportion of these employees are Presbyterians because of the emphasis Papago converts place upon education, and good quality of denomination schools.

Many cotton harvesters recognize these fundamental reasons for their working. When they expressed their reasons for coming to the fields to labor, they said they came because "We don't have any fields," or "I didn't have a job," (the most frequent reply). Or some recognized the cause, but thought in the old mental paths of the Desert People: "There hasn't been any rain."

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[1] 13 of the families giving data had permits for 91 head.
[2] 9 of 12 families giving information did.
[3] Joseph, Spicer, and Chesky, 1949, p. 87.

461 The economic incentive in harvesting cotton is re-
464 flected in some purchasing habits of Papagos during
picking season. About three-fifths of them buy some
454 quantity of staple foods beyond their immediate needs
in labor camps. They take such extra food back to the
261 reserves on one of their trips to a fiesta, or at the
end of the work season.[1] Flour, sugar, coffee, and
beans bought with cotton picking wages help see the
family through some of the months between harvest sea-
sons. The quantity laid in is usually not large,
probably enough for only a month or two.

437 The Desert People who pick cotton also purchase
439 most of their clothing while they are at work and earn-
ing money--and are near Anglo shopping centers where
prices are less than in reservation trading posts, and
choice is wider. Many jackets, boots, and other items
are purchased at Magdalena at fiesta also. Perhaps
7 Papago harvest hands are limited in their clothing
purchasing to picking season and its ready cash of 10.[2]

461 Some of the Desert People do not go to work in the
871 cotton fields from a need for money, however. There
are some determined parents who are thoroughly con-
vinced both of the necessity for educating their child-
ren and the inadequacy of Indian Bureau schools on the
reserves. Some of them act upon their convictions by
moving to labor camps so their children may attend pub-
lic schools where they have to learn to compete with
Anglo and Mexican-American children. This element of
[181] competition is generally absent from reservation
schools despite the best efforts of teachers because
students are all Papagos, and Papago training is all
toward cooperation and good interpersonal relations
rather than competitiveness.

166 Some older people go to labor camps because there
886 is no one left on the reservation to care for them when
the family goes to pick. As an old man put it, "I mov-
[462] ed over here so my daughter could feed me." Women are
the cooks in Papago society, and this widower had to
come along with his daughter's family to eat.

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[1] of 28 families giving data, 14 purchased extra food to store, 64%.
[2] of 14 families giving data, 10 bought all their clothes during the work season in 1950--71%.

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591 Purely social reasons are behind the journeys of many of the Desert People to labor camps. "I came just because the others from my village did," is one typical reason. Probably most such individuals have the same economic compulsions as the others, but come to work because it is the thing to do. Others economically more secure with larger fields or herds than most may come for that reason only: to be with the group.

594 Then there are frequent casual visitors to labor camps. Relatives come for a while just to visit, perhaps because they have married into another village.

461 It must be remembered that the concept of the economic man is seldom true in life. While the Desert People come very close to that concept on the whole in their incentives for working for wages, they are still human beings with many uneconomic thoughts and desires which they carry out without regard to dollars and cents. Actually, these basic economic reasons for Papagos laboring are not uppermost in Papago consciousness when cash is in demand. What they think of is the immediate occasion when money is needed.

Immediate reasons Papagos work--

Aside from the necessity for earning enough cash to buy food and clothing, there are other reasons for earning money. During the picking season three important religious events occur. These are the feast days of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Francis Xavier, and All Souls Day of the Roman Catholic ceremonial calendar. A very high proportion of the tribe goes to one or another, or all three.

Although several denominations have gained a foothold among the Desert People, the vast majority are orthodox or Sonora Catholics. Harvest hands in 1950 were about 95% Catholic.[1] The rest are about evenly divided between Protestants and individuals consciously rejecting Christian allegiance to practice native forms of religion or none at all. The Presbyterian church has the largest following among Protestant groups, with six congregations on the reservation. There are other missions on the reservations. However, missionary activity does not extend to labor camps.[2]

From the great reservoir of Papago Catholics come the pilgrims to Magdalena, San Xavier, Chuwhiy Cuwsk at fiesta time. These pilgrims make their journeys primarily to keep promises they've made to the Saint, or to ask him to intercede for them. Because they have very deep faith in the powers of St. Francis to cure illnesses, the Desert People frequently vow to the Saint that if the petitioner or one of his loved ones is cured, he will visit the statue of the Saint in the Magdalena (or San Xavier or Chuwhiy Cuwsk) church. Often the person vows to make four such visits, to place a number of candles for the Saint, to leave him an amount of money, perhaps even to walk from the border to Magdalena or to perform some other penance.

Not all those petitioning the Saint seek health. Some ask aid in business, love or other ventures. The Desert People bring statues and pictures from their household shrines and chapels to press against the statue of the Saint for his blessing. They buy yards of bright ribbons, sold in shops thrown up about the

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[1] Based on information from 35 individuals.
[2] Not 1 of 9 persons questioned had seen a missionary in 1950. 1 had in a previous year.

788 the surrounding countryside are beginning to make the pilgrimmage there. The church was built by the Indians to house the statue which is believed by them to have appeared miraculously in the village only a few years ago. Chuwhiy Guwsk (the name means Jackrabbit Falls Down) is growing in importance as a goal for Papago pilgrims. In 1950 it attracted about a fifth of those making a pilgrimmage from labor camps, probably more than 500 people.[1] Reached by desert trails, the town is not serviced by a bus. Pilgrims reached it on trucks or in cars, or in wagons or on horseback. Most Desert People who traveled to one of the fiestas by wagon in 1950 visited Chuwhiy Guwsk. The town itself has no permanent water supply aside from its charco, and affords no power supply for bright lights. Portable generators were used in 1950 to light the few temporary bars and restaurants. The merchandise stuffed booths of Magdalena were absent, and the cost of a pilgrimmage was much lower.

461 221 788 574 467 A good many Papagos worked a trip to their homes on the reserves into their pilgrimmage before they went back to picking cotton. Their disregard of what most Anglos consider unbreakable rules for good working behavior baffles and irritates their employers. Pilgrims from Pima county labor camps lost an average of 5½ days from work, in effect a work week, varying from[2] those gone a single day to families absent 3 weeks. In Pinal county, which is even more distant from the pilgrimmage towns, Papagos lost more time from work. Families stayed from 2 days to a month, averaging 9 days away from their picking jobs.[3] This amount of time taken from cotton harvesting just before the peak of the season is reached is frequently incomprehensible to Anglo Protestant cotton growers, and is a black mark against Papago Catholic employees in their eyes.

484 788 511 436 It seems quite likely that most Papago families making a pilgrimmage from a labor camp to Magdalena, Chuwhiy Guwsk or San Xavier in 1950 spent most or all that they had earned picking cotton up to that time on their pilgrimmage trip. The average sized family working in the cotton harvest needed $90 for transportation, food and lodging in Magdalena for the usual 3-day sojourn, and the added cost of drinking beer and

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[1] 8 of 23 individuals whose goal was obtained, 22%.
[2] Based on information from 8 farmers hiring Papagos.
[3] Based on 20 farms where information was obtained.

mescal and perhaps paying a small fine to get out of jail next morning, buying presents for folks back home and children, purchasing a new pair of boots or a coat and donating to the Saint and buying ribbons and relics to take home all added up. Probably most of the families going to Magdalena spent around $125.

While Chuwhiy Guwsk was not so expensive, and San Xavier considerably less in cost, the nearly 600 Papago families making pilgrimages from labor camps spent at least $50,000 on the one religious celebration on St. Francis of Assisi's day, and more than likely spent about $75,000. It is hardly surprising that Magdalena merchants are glad to see Papagos.

Acquiring this amount of cash to spend is undoubtedly a very strong motive behind Papago cotton field labor. Growers impatient with their Indians for taking off work at this time must realize that this fiesta is one main reason the Desert People work at all!

Most Papago families picking cotton in 1950 made at least one trip home to the reserves. In fact, over four-fifths of them returned home at least once. Some made frequent trips to care for livestock or poultry, or just to have a good time at fiestas, and many made two trips, which was about average.

About 7 trips of every 10 were made at All Souls Day, the next important religious event after the fiesta of St. Francis, and the next most important in number of Indian participants. However, there are no centers for the observance of this day of memorial. Families scatter to their home towns where they visit graveyards to leave flowers and candles and pray for the dead.

The last of the trio of religious festivals falls on Dec. 3, the day of St. Francis Xavier. (Actually the Desert People do not clearly distinguish between Saints Francis of Assisi and Xavier. The big fiesta on Oct. 4 was probably held originally Dec. 3, the day of Jesuit St. Francis Xavier, but was shifted by later

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123 families of 84 giving data returned, 82%.
23 families made 30 plus trips (some interviews being early in the season didn't include all trips). 6 Pima and 4 Pinal county farmers said their Papago hands averaged just over 2 trips home per family during picking season, much to their employers' annoyance.
14 of 20 trips of known purpose were at All Souls, 70%.

Franciscan missionaries to the earlier date of their own St. Francis of Assisi). The fine old mission church at San Xavier del Bac is the goal of Papago pilgrims at that time. In 1950 about 15% of the Desert People picking cotton who left their jobs made the journey to San Xavier.[1]

One secular event in the fall competes with religious celebrations for the interest of the Desert People. This is their tribal rodeo staged at Sells. About 1 of 10 Papago cotton pickers attended one of the two-day 1950 performances.[2] Wage laborers were augmented by great numbers of stay-at-homes, who filled the 2,500-seat capacity stands both days with help of a few hundred Anglo visitors from Tucson and other southern Arizona towns.

A few laborers return to the reserves for other reasons—some women go home to their mothers when they are due to parturate, although most seem to bear their babies in labor camps without medical aid. Sometimes a quick trip home is necessary to look after animals or other property. But generally when the Desert People go to labor camps, they go to work steadily through the season. They leave only for—to them—pressing reasons.

Most farmers hiring Indians realize that religious celebrations are very pressing reasons. Obligations the Desert People feel they must fulfill at these times rise above considerations of steady work. The vow to St. Francis comes before some farmer's cotton, or the Papago's own job, and he will go to one of those three churches regardless of other duties. Farmers who realize the importance to the Papagos of their religion are much happier men at fiesta time than those who regard a job as the most important thing in the world.

However, many farmers do not understand the religious beliefs of their Papago employees sufficiently to make allowances when Indians ignore prevalent Anglo work standards. And cotton growers resent the inconvenience involved in transporting Papagos. A Marana farmer remarked "One reason I never fool with Papagos is you have to take them to Sells 3 or 4 times a year." Another who hired Papagos griped that "Indians are more

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[1] 5 of 38 trips of known purpose were to San Xavier.
[2] 2 of 20 trips of known purpose were to the rodeo.

484 439 511 But those few hours are enough for the Papagos to spend about half their wages. During the war it was estimated $40 of every $100 they received from labor, cattle, and produce went immediately to business men operating outside the reserves.[1] With the boom in cotton, and the boom for Papago pickers, probably even more is spent off the reserves today.

466 484 Most farmers who send a truck in to town with a load of Indians seem to have learned they have fewer problems with drunkenness if the trucks return to the labor camps before dinner. The time the Desert People spend in town now is considerably less than it was a few years ago, when the streets were filled with Papagos long after dark. Then on Monday morning farmers went to city halls in numbers to find some of their laborers and pay their "$10 or 10 day" fines so they could go back to work.

293 466 [433] Drinking is still the main sin Anglo employers hold against Papago farm workers, as well as the number one social problem among the Desert People. As a farmer near Stanfield observed, "There's nothing more useless than a drunk Indian." It is the exceptional cotton farmer who can say of his Papagos they "drink less and are less trouble--the whites drink more." Most farmers would agree with a foreman who said that the Papagos in his camp "all drink, but very few get wild." Some growers control this problem by firing those of the Desert People unable to restrict their tippling to week ends in town. Cotton farmers often bail out good workers rather than lose their services for 10 days to the city. All over the irrigated valleys where Papagos work, bootlegging to Indians is an acute problem.

293 461 166 [439] So widespread is drinking among the Desert People in labor camps that it appears to be one big attraction to Papagos to leave their reserves to work. Liquor is much more easily obtained in labor camps and trading towns than on isolated reserves. Friendly or profiteering Anglos, Negros and Mexican-Americans willing to sell a bottle to a thirsty Indian are relatively abundant around camps and towns. And enforcement of laws prohibiting liquor to Indians is especially difficult outside reserves. One isolated rural store, at

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[1] Program, Papago Reservation, 1944, p. 43.

000 so that machine harvesting was only half as prevalent in Pima as in Pinal County in 1950.

Men: Just before cotton picking began the leading Arizona farm paper estimated that 25,000 hand pickers would harvest the state cotton crop not picked by machines in some 96 days.[1] This estimate seems to have been only slightly too low.

PICKERS NEEDED

Yield--Pima county set what is probably a national county record yield in 1950, ginning 1,053 pounds of lint per acre.[2] As it takes 1,400 pounds of seed cotton to make a 479-pound bale of fiber,[3] the fiber weighs 35.2% of the seed cotton brought in from the field. So 1,053 pounds of lint per acre means 3,079 pounds of seed cotton per acre production in Pima county.

Picking Speed--Labor cost studies of cotton picking showed the average amount of cotton picked per man day in Pinal county was 188 pounds in 1947, and 235 pounds in Graham county in 1949.[4] Papago men interviewed in this study averaged 211 pounds per man per day, and women 180 pounds a day. If we assume that 200 pounds of cotton per picker per day is about average, we will agree with the farm paper mentioned.[5] Dividing 200 pounds per man per day into the 3,079 pound per acre yield of Pima county shows the labor requirement in 1950 was 15,395 man days per acre.

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Picking Time--The 11,200 acres of upland cotton[6] in the county required 172,480 man days of harvesting at 15.4 man-days per acre. Farms in Pima county whose upland acreage was obtained in this study planted 6,692½ acres, or 59.8% of the county total. They also planted 1,434 A. of American-Egyptian cotton, 21.4% of the upland acreage. If this proportion holds for the county, as seems likely, then approximately 2,400 acres of American-Egyptian cotton was planted in 1950. While the labor requirement for picking a pound of long staple cotton is about twice that for short,[7] yield per acre drops to about half that of

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[1] Arizona Farmer, Aug. 5, 1950.
[2] Tucson Daily Citizen, Feb. 6, 1951.
[3] Barr, 1949, p. 6, Table 3.
[4] Ballantyne, 1950.
[5] Arizona Farmer, Aug. 5, 1950, states 7 man-days (misprinted hours) are standard per bale--1400 pounds.
[6] Barr, 1951, p. 17, Table 6.
[7] Figures for Papago pickers obtained in this study. Also, Arizona Farmer, Aug. 5, 1950.